

THE
ANATOMY
OF A LATE
NEGOCIATION.

[Price One Shilling.]

THE
Y M O T A I
NEGOTIATION

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THE
ANATOMY
OF A LATE
NEGOCIATION.

EARNESTLY ADDRESSED TO THE
SERIOUS CONSIDERATION
OF THE
PEOPLE OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

THE SECOND EDITION.

“ The SPIRIT of LIBERTY is a jealous Spirit; and FAC-
“ TION is equally the Object of its Jealousy, whether the
“ views of Faction be directed in Favour of the Crown or
“ *against it.*”

Lord BOLINGBROKE.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WILKIE, in St. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

MDCCLXIII.

NEW YORK
ASSOCIATION
OF
LAWYERS

RESOLUTION
ON
THE
MATTER OF
THE
NEW YORK
ASSOCIATION
OF
LAWYERS

WHEREAS
THE
NEW YORK
ASSOCIATION
OF
LAWYERS
HAS
ADOPTED
THE
FOLLOWING
RESOLUTIONS
ON
THE
MATTER OF
THE
NEW YORK
ASSOCIATION
OF
LAWYERS

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I AM not ignorant how very difficult a task any man undertakes, who in times of Party-heat attempts to gain the attention of the Public, by applying to their *Reason*, rather than their *Passions*. The generality of those who engage in political Controversy, are too much influenced by the powerful motives of *Hopes* and *Fears*, to suffer their minds to preserve any degree of Candour; and those lookers-on, whose immediate interests are less concerned in the fate of Ministers, partake commonly of the passions and prejudices

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judices that are dealt out to them, by the instruments of Party, and become equally incapable of cool judgment and candid reasoning. If there are few impartial writers, there are perhaps as few dispassionate readers: and we see every day, that an assertion is not weighed by the proofs it depends upon, or the conviction it carries with it, but meets with belief and approbation merely according to the bias of the Reader. All adherence to Truth seems at this time to be so totally disregarded, that I doubt whether the *ne quid falsi*, in a title page, would not rather be a discouragement to the *gentle* Reader, than an inducement to him to repose his confidence in the Author.

NOTWITHSTANDING this persuasion, I am determined in the following pages to confine myself to what is true, and what is known to be true; and to divest myself, as much as I am able, from all influence of Party Rage, which is calculated only to deceive and to betray. My intention is to warn and to preserve from ruin a Country tending to its destruction. To point out to them by what sure measure they may try the conduct of the contending parties, and distinguish principles of true attachment to their welfare, from the base motives

motives of private interested ambition, under whatever disguises it may seem to court their friendship.

UPON this Plan therefore, it is evident that *an Address to the People of Great Britain*, comprehends only the very few people of Great Britain, who have patience enough and integrity of heart, to sacrifice their interests, and what perhaps is still dearer to them, their passions and prejudices, to the calm conviction of Truth, and the safety of their Country. To such, this will neither appear a cold, inanimate or useless disquisition; and if I am so happy to meet with their approbation, it will amply pay me for the disregard of men hackneyed in the corrupt and perfidious system of *modern Politicians*.

LET any one for a moment place himself in the situation of a *Foreigner*, and view the State of this Country, which he has been taught to revere as the Throne of Law and Justice, the Temple of Liberty, the happy union that has found means to join the strength, the dignity, and activity of Monarchy, to the envied Freedom of a Republic. Where the extremes of every Government are so tempered and blended together, as to give security and comfort to the possession of each

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Individual,

Individual, as well as glory and splendor to the State. He shall find Licentiousness trampling upon Liberty : the common course of Law obstructed ; the public Safety threatened ; the first Magistrates derided in their Office ; and Majesty insulted even upon the Throne. Is this the *Spirit of Liberty*, that under frivolous pretences, attempts to throw all Government into weakness and disorder ? Is it the *Spirit of Liberty*, that endeavours to divide the Strength of the two Kingdoms, and to turn the amity of those whom Nature and Interest have united by the closest bonds, into enmity and implacable resentment ? Does the *same Spirit* tend to depreciate in the affections and opinions of mankind a Prince, who esteems it among the *chief honours* of his life, that he is appointed to rule a brave and free People, whom he is united to by Birth as well as Inclination ? Is it *that glorious Spirit of Liberty*, that instead of calming the minds of men, and reconciling them to the heavy burthen, which themselves well know will admit of no alleviation, and upon which the only hopes of our Salvation are founded, induces them to mock at the Distresses of their Country, and to sow the seeds of mutiny and resistance in the minds of Men, that they may render all possibility of relief vain and hopeless,

and

and accelerate that ruin which, by profuse and injudicious systems, *they* have rendered almost inevitable? That this representation is exaggerated, I believe there is no one who will assert; the public I am sure confesses it but too true. But is it applicable to one man alone? No: we see Nobility, Rank, Fortune, Honours, degraded in the same cause; and repeatedly giving malignant stabs to the peace of their Country, determined she shall have no relief till she accepts it at their hands.

If we consider the rise and progress of the present Opposition to Government, we shall easily be able to discern by what motives it is actuated. Court cabals, secret jealousies, private resentments, were the avowed principles upon which their Party was first declared: and those who were grown grey in honours and power, and emolument, did not blush to avenge their private disappointments upon the peace and quiet of their Country. Far be it from me to judge how far their resentments were well-grounded; as they were private in their nature, perhaps the Public have no right to enquire into them. Sure I am there could no resentment lie against their King, and still less

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against

against their Country, whom in effect they injure. What is this Country reduced to, when men dare to treat us as their Inheritance ; complain of the *injustice* of being reduced to *private Subjects* ; and openly confederate and league together to recover us by *force*, or to procure our total destruction in the attempt. Will the Dukes of N——le or D——e pretend, that they entered into opposition with any one public plea, or with any view but to remove from the person of the K—— the object of their jealousy, and to reinstate themselves in their former power ? Is that a consideration that will justify them, or any of their Party, in their conduct towards the Public ? May we not fairly deem persons actuated by such principles, the *Authors of Faction*, not the *Supporters of Liberty* ; the *Enemies*, not the *Friends* to their Country ?

It was long indeed, that Mr. P—— held himself in suspense before he thought fit to declare himself of their Party. He was retired since his resignation into the Country ; and except his unbecoming triumph in the City, had not *openly* produced himself upon the public stage ; but *seemed* to enjoy in peace the
graces

graces and honours that had been conferred upon him, the *Otium cum dignitate*. He had touched the highest point of his ambition, and could only tarnish the glories he had acquired, by throwing himself back again into the noise of Faction and Cabal. Had he still remained in that retirement, and preserved the real dignity of his character, he might have been transmitted to posterity amongst the foremost in the list of great and able Ministers. The successes which he had been the happy instrument of obtaining to this country, would have cast a veil over his weaknesses, and have palliated the blame of what was past. His glories would not then have been weighed in so nice a scale, the *value* or the price of them; nor would the mirror have been then opposed to him, to reflect back *former protestations, past friendships, and past enmities*, the means of *acquiring*, and the means of *preserving* power when acquired. — But he has lived a day too long, he has lived to undeceive mankind as to his past conduct, to see his glories blasted, and will live to reflect with shame and confusion on his present conduct, which will fix dishonour on his memory as long as his name endures.

WHAT

WHAT should we determine of a *Band of Patriots*, who from principles of private discontent, because *one* was too much trusted, or another too little; because *one* was not permitted *alone* to *guide* the Councils of his K——, or another to dispose alone of all the Graces of the Crown; if upon such motives, and *such motives only*, they should think fit to draw the nation into their quarrel, to attempt to clog the Springs of Government, to oppose the *very measures* they had *some of them* openly advised and approved, as the most important to the public welfare; to endeavour to kindle flames of sedition in every quarter, and to make use of *every means* to raise an *artificial cry* against the man that had offended them; and all this forsooth to tear him from the breast of their K——, and sacrifice him to the fury of their resentments? What, I say, should we determine of *such a Band of Patriots*? But what further sentiments should we entertain of them, if actuated by more sordid principles, we should see them sacrifice at last even *those resentments* to their *interests*, and *privately* enter into terms of accommodation with THAT VERY person, to restore to him the influence he had renounced, make use of that *very influence*

influence to re-instate themselves and the adherents in power and in office: If we should see them make use of the Peace they had decried, as a pretence to extend their *proscription*, and in the same manner consent to restore C——t influence to the man who boasted himself the *adviser* of that *Peace*, and stipulate the highest office to one of the principal defenders of it?

ARE these things so, my Countrymen? do I attempt to impose upon your judgment; or do they attempt to impose upon the confidence you have reposed in their professions? Is it true or false that the Dukes of N———le and D———e, were publicly known to have approved of and recommended Peace upon *any terms*, which they afterwards opposed, when obtained upon much more advantageous terms than they had themselves consented to accept? Is it true, that Mr. P——— confessed in Parl———t that the Peace with all its faults, *inadequate* as he would make it, was much better in most circumstances, (I should have said in all) than that which he would have agreed to? Is this then insecure to us, (I speak not now of equivalent to our

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successes)

successes) and would he have consented to betray us into one so much more insecure? These are circumstances no one can be deceived in; nor will the out-cry after Guadaloupe and St. Lucia, however advantageous they might have been; or the difference between St. Pierre, a barren rock, or St. Pierre and Miguelon, two barren rocks, ever satisfy the public, when they consider calmly, that advantages which gave us *security* to-day, would, when doubled, become *insecurity* to us to-morrow. Again: Will those noble Dukes, (as Mr. P—— since the conference is said to have done) deny that they ever tried to represent the influence of Lord B——, as dangerous to the public safety, with every circumstance of exaggeration which their Party have been able to invent; and was that influence at once to become salutary when it accorded with their interests? Was the noble Lord likewise, who is said to have destined himself as *successor* to his *Brother*, was he likewise so far from protecting that paper, (which we know not yet by what name to call) that his heart disavowed every sentiment it contained, and felt friendship and approbation for the person who was the object of its fury? Or did that person change his
nature,

nature, his being, and his birth, the instant Mr. Calc——t had sealed the Treaty of a second Union?

THUS, my Countrymen, the mask is at length dropped. They appear, as every man sooner or later will appear, who under false pretences avails himself of the credulity of others, and decks himself with speciousness instead of virtue. The Transaction to which this alludes, is full of such strange and wonderful circumstances, that I forbear to dwell upon them. The madness, the indecency, the insult, that appears in it, beyond all examples of former times, will, I am persuaded, sufficiently strike every man of feeling. I will only observe, that the man who dares make such proposals to his K——, would with the same *Dictatorial Spirit*, set his foot upon the Liberties of the People, and prescribe to them the Conditions of their Freedom, in the same tone which he presumes to use in offering terms of Treaty to his S——n.

I AM not ignorant that the Emisseries of their Party must have recourse to the only defence that

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is in their power, the denying and equivocating away every thing that is felt to their disadvantage, which is accordingly varied to suit the persons and circumstances they are addressing to. A Party who have not hesitated (I would not be understood to mean the whole of the opposition) to throw *fallacy* in the teeth of the K—— upon the Throne, may well be supposed to have little reserve upon any occasion. Be that as it may, mankind will judge for themselves, and not perhaps pay implicit faith to their assertions without better evidence. If however there are any, who, still blinded by former prejudices, find means to conciliate to their satisfaction the conduct of Mr. P—— upon this occasion; and to conceive upon motives of public peace and quiet, that no administration will be firm and lasting, and effectual to the purposes of Government, where Mr. P—— does not hold the helm; I will suppose with them, for the sake of argument, that the strange proposition had taken place, and the arrangement in consequence had taken in all the principal persons of the opposition. Should we have gained strength and quiet by such an arrangement? Let us examine a little into the personages of whom it was to have been composed.

W A S

Was the noble Duke, in the first place, who had so long sat at the head of the Treasury, and whose jealousy has been always known to be sufficiently alarmed with the most distant *phantom* of a rival; was his Grace likely to have remained quietly in his easy chair, while he saw the Commoner divide between himself and brotherhood the whole province, which he thinks by prescription he has a right to claim? Was the friend of that noble Duke, whose attachment to his own interest, and the advancement of his family, are as well known as his great abilities upon the Bench have been universally acknowledged; was he likely to have had cordial union with a system, which leaves the ambition of all his sons unsatisfied? Was Mr. L——, who has had his *Day of Popularity*, to forget the honourable testimony he has received from the Public, to *hide* his *gold boxes*, and sit down a tame spectator of his rival's glory? Was the *wind-changing Warwick* now to change no more, and a Ch—— T———d to remain constant to the interest of others, who would never yet be faithful to himself? Or rather, may we not conclude, that the same principles in the same persons, will produce the same effects to the entire dissolution of all Government,

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and the total undoing of this Country? Were the English likely to have acquiesced in wresting out of the hands of a generous Gran—y the command of the Army, in which he is so justly idolized, and who know that he is ever ready to *coin his heart to drachmas* for their service? Or, would the Scotch Nation have consented to see in the Lord Tr——r, the man who is known to have kindled all the animosity against them, is believed to have furnished materials, as well as money to Ch——ll, and who gave his countenance in open Court, as well as by his visits to the Tower, to the declared and inveterate enemy of their Country? Or is it supposed that the whole body of the Army, the whole Scotch Nation, the entire body of the Tories, except three persons, with three fourths at least of the Representatives in P——t, who stand condemned by Mr. P—— as Enemies to their Country, would have all together made quite an insignificant Party in Opposition.

THIS is however the plan of the peaceable and quiet Government we should have obtained, by degrading the Crown to the lowest degree of humiliation, and
by

by submitting our neck to the yoke of an all-assuming Minister. People deceive themselves no less who count upon that Gentleman's extraordinary talents. Forgetting circumstances, they confound times and situations. Did not Mr. P—— inspire vigour into our Counsels, restore the Spirit of our Nation, and crown all our enterprizes with success? Did he not rouse the Lion from his slumber, and scatter terror and consternation among our adversaries? Perhaps this and more we owe to him; I am willing to allow him to have been at least one chief instrument of our *martial glory*; but thanks to fortune, and to more pacific geniusses, we are now at War no more; the sword is beat into the plough-share, and we reap the fruit of those labours in the milder blessings of Peace." Is it a natural consequence, that the Minister who is formed to carry through plans of military operation, is therefore the best calculated for restoring the state of our revenue in peace? What were the talents which rendered him so successful in war? Bold resolution, peremptory decision, daring attempt, and universal profusion." Are these the talents necessary for our present situation? or rather are they not the cause of those very evils

No Better reason could be given for his being continued Secretary to conclude a peace in consequence of his

evils which we *seek* to remedy. Patience, laborious industry, system, long habit of serious business, calm reasoning, prudent foresight, caution, and sagacity; are these the qualities in which Mr. P—— excels? Are not these almost the *only qualities* our present circumstances require? When we have another War to wage, and another *threescore million* to employ upon it, we may apply to that Gentleman for his assistance: For the present, unless he has the faculty of the Scorpion, to bear about him the antidote to his own poison, we must have recourse to less sublime and elevated Spirits, Spirits of Peace and Oeconomy.—*Non tali auxilio, non defensoribus istis, tempus eget.*

HAVING thus traced the Opposition from its source, and endeavoured to lay open the motives which have actuated their conduct; having shewn that the known principles of the individuals it is composed of, are as ill calculated for the public security and welfare, as for concord and unanimity among each other; in short having, I believe, plainly proved that such an Ad——n, instead of restoring peace and confidence, and strength to Government,

who laboured more, who applied themselves more seriously to Business than Mr. Pitt, whose foresight was greater than his that advised the beginning

ment, must have unavoidably thrown it into weakness, disorder, and anarchy ; it remains for me only to congratulate my Country, upon the near and alarming danger we have escaped, through the firmness and integrity of the R——l Breast. Like a true Father of his People, and willing to hold out the gracious tender of his favour, and to sacrifice his private feelings to the ease and satisfaction of his people, he has been induced to make this last effort.—The event has proved how little influence such goodness has upon minds hardened by interest and ambition. May this be the last time such goodness is exposed to insult ! and I may venture to promise, it will never want the assistance and support of every honest Briton, ready, if occasion were, to shed our warmest blood in defence of the dignity of the Crown, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Constitutional Safety of the Kingdom.

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P O S T.

P O S T C R I P T.

WHILST the foregoing sheets were preparing for the press, I have been confirmed in my sentiments by stronger proofs than I could have expected. On the 21st of last month there appeared in the Gazetteer, a Manifesto of the Opposition, signed M. E. penned evidently by one of their best hands, and wanting nothing to give it weight and reputation, but reasons, facts, prudence, and modesty. It avows without scruple, what I have charged them with, coalition with the E—— of B——. It avows that connection necessary for their *interest*; like the Bill of Demands given in upon a late occasion, totally lays the People and the interests of the Nation out of the question; and laughs at all consistency of character, with an effrontery worthy to make the Author, or Secretary, be named for Co-partner in the Seals, with the great Commoner himself.

THUS then after throwing the whole nation into convulsions; after exciting Scotch and English to cut each others throats, by reviving every odious topic of national animosity; after endeavouring to drive the
Western

Western Counties almost to rebellion and madness ; after giving the lie to M——y itself, to this obnoxious favourite ; after re-calling into life each dormant plea of contention between Prerogative and Privilege ; in short, after summing up all their grievances, in that single calamity, the person of the Earl of B—— ; *He* the Thane, the Mortimer, the Butt, at which were shot all the envenomed darts of the North-Briton, *He* is taken by the hand, and permitted to hold the door of the Closet, whilst the Commoner dictates his new administration, and excepts out of his proscription *Him*, for whose removal all this war of faction, invective, and abuse, of falsehood and disloyalty, has been so freely waged : Or to give it in the words of the decent and modest M. E. “ Whether in the *Changes of Time*, a “ Newcastle, a G———n Wh——re, or a Lord “ Bute, it matters little.” Their *interest* or *ambition* sanctifies the means, and renders sacred whatever instrument they deign to judge most proper for their purpose. This is speaking plainly, so plainly that it needs no comment ; and mankind must be infatuated indeed, if they do not take this warning so *frankly* given them, so *honestly* declared. How the noble Duke, or the illustrious Earl, may like to be classed, or to receive such treatment, I will not pretend to say : Perhaps his
Grace

Grace may, *in the changes of time*, have been grown callous to such language ; but if the Earl has a grain of that pride which is imputed to him, he must be not a little mortified to see the footing, upon which *favour* is extended to him.

THE same M. E. the defender of Mr. P—'s conduct, tells us farther, " That the Union of Mr. P— and Lord B—, is the only thing that could restore peace among ourselves, and give us our just weight and importance abroad." Is this the real sentiments of the party ? Have they really been conscious all this while of the necessity of this union ; and have the measures they have taken, been meant only conducive to this salutary purpose ? What then : The labours of a T—le, a W-kes, a Ch—ll, have tended to nothing but to reconcile Mr. P— and Lord B— ? When we have been inflamed every week, and invited almost to massacre the whole Scottish Nation, nothing more was meant by it, than a reconciliation between the English Hero and the Scottish Chieftain ; the security of our *domestic peace*, and the glory and credit of the nation abroad ? Wonderful indeed is this plan of consummate policy, which he has at last disclosed to us ; a finesse not easily to be penetrated by vulgar understandings, and which might have

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saved

saved us much heart-burning had it been divulged a little earlier.

I WILL say nothing to the gross personalities in M. E.'s Memorial, nor even to the cruel reflections on a deceased Nobleman. To a feeling heart, which pities an afflicted family, they must sound savage-----but I suppose, they too may tend to the reconciliation so strongly recommended.

THERE is however another expression, in the paper under consideration, which is so *impudent*, that I cannot forbear taking notice of it. M. E. in the name of the Earl of B—, talks of being *betrayed*: Betrayed! by whom; and upon what occasion? Does M. E. take upon himself to own, that this retired person, this abdicated Minister, this private Nobleman, who by his own public declarations, as well as by being in no office, had renounced all pretence to meddle with intrigue, negotiation, and administration whatever; and who by meddling in any sort, must forfeit the esteem of every man of truth and honour; does he own that this person, contrary to every solemn assurance and profession, did meddle, did intrigue, did, without consulting these Ministers, to whom he had engaged his honour not to *meddle*, and

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whom

whom he had himself recommended to his Master's confidence, as the persons *the most worthy of that confidence*, did *privately* negotiate with their open enemy, endeavour to supplant them, and leave them the sacrifice to that faction, which they had been called in to oppose? does he take upon himself to own so much? and does he dare to call it being betrayed by those Ministers, that they prevented so weak, and so wicked a design from taking effect? Such defenders are indeed the most dangerous accusers, who in endeavouring to throw wanton calumnies upon others, fix indelible dishonour on the persons whose party they espouse. In the present instance, those Ministers did not prevent its taking effect: The firmness and integrity of the R——l Breast did alone prevent it; and it is notorious, that they had as little share in breaking off that conference, as they had in bringing it on; nor were consulted, till they were intreated to return to their offices, to preserve the dignity of the Crown from the most dangerous attack that has been made upon it, since the times of universal confusion.

IF however the assertions of M. E. have any grounds, one corollary may be fairly drawn from them. Those Gentlemen, whom the emissaries of Faction have laboured to represent, as the *Screens*, the *Tools*, the *Deputies*,

ties of the Scottish Minister, now stand cleared, at least from that aspersion.

IF they have been represented as *Substitutes*, they now stand confest as *Principals*; men of honour, who scorn to hold power servilely for another; and if such condescension was really expected from them, his Lordship has done well to apply himself to others more proper for his purpose: These Gentlemen disdain it, and will, I am persuaded, envy no man the advantages he may draw at any time from such a Treaty. How often must Faction be to shift for her batteries! How often must we be taught our new lesson, and untaught our old one! change friends for enemies, and enemies for friends! The libel of yesterday is out of date to day; and the closest amity is sworn between the contending powers so suddenly, as not to allow time to recall a paper from the press, which instigates almost in plain terms the assassination of one of them. But I suppose, Mr. W—kes will be to exercise his pen now upon a South-Briton, where the *Brother* of his *Patron*, will become substituted to his rancour instead of the *converted Earl*. Where we shall be told, that if the Nation was totally disgraced and ruined under that Nobleman, it is ten times more totally ruined and disgraced under Mr. G——lle. The
modest

modest M. E. will tell us, that we did not want Lord B—— out, though we did want him out, and were bid to want him out, and to want nobody else out; and that we did want Mr. P—— in, though we did not want Mr. P—— in, though every vote of our *Representatives* shewed we wanted no such thing, though our *Addressees* shew we want no such thing, and though *He* has so often declared, that *He* wants no such thing, at the same time that his conduct shews it is the only thing he *does* want. Must we be as fretful, as wayward, as fickle, as violent as they are? Must we be hallooed to-day upon one man, to-morrow upon another? Must we offer insults to M——y one week for employing a Scotchman, for an Englishman next week; and every year for daring to prefer any man whose merits clash with their ambition? No: The Nation has experienced their Inconsistency; they avow it, they glory in it. Let the people imitate them so far, and be inconsistent too, as to withdraw from them their confidence, which has been so justly forfeited, and refuse to be duped by them any longer.

F I N I S.

*Scottish impudence & a Tory heart
dictated the absurdities of this pamphlet*

